



Probation reforms 2014

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There has been a series of reforms to probation in recent years, summarised in Library Standard Note 6665 *Introducing “Payment by Results” in Offender Rehabilitation and other reforms*. (24 October 2013) This Note looks at the current position in relation to the Government’s policy on Offender Rehabilitation and the role of Payment by Results (PbR).

In October 2012, Lord Chancellor and Secretary of State for Justice, Chris Grayling, announced that the Government now intended to apply PbR to the majority of rehabilitation work conducted with offenders in the community, as part of broader reforms. The Ministry of Justice’s strategy document *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform* (published on 9 May 2013 as its response to the consultation *Transforming Rehabilitation: A revolution in the way we manage offenders*) again set out a number of proposed reforms to the rehabilitation system in both custody and the community. Proposals relating to rehabilitation in the community include legislating to introduce a minimum of 12 months’ mandatory supervision for all offenders sentenced to less than two years in custody and changes to the conditions that can be imposed as part of a Community Order or Suspended Sentence Order (as set out in the *Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014*).

A new public sector probation service has been created to directly manage high risk offenders known as the National Probation Service. This began operating from 1 June 2014. Library Standard Note 6894 *Privatisation of the probation service :what’s happened so far?* (20 May 2014) gives further details on the contracting out process. Standard Note 6665. *Introducing “Payment by Results” in Offender Rehabilitation and other reforms* (24 October 2013) provides a summary of developments in probation reform since 2001.

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1 **Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform**

On 9 May 2013, the Ministry of Justice published *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, its response to *Transforming Rehabilitation: A revolution in the way we manage offenders*.¹

The Ministry of Justice said that the aim of the reforms was to ensure that offenders are not only punished but receive the rehabilitation and the “broader life management” support they need to “get their lives back on track so they do not commit crime again”.² The Ministry of Justice is committed to savings of over £2 billion by 2014/15. The reforms are scheduled to be implemented across England and Wales by 2015.

1.1 **The five main reforms**

This strategy (like its predecessors) features five main reforms to the rehabilitation system:

- **Extending rehabilitation to offenders released from short-term sentences** – the Government introduced the *Offender Rehabilitation Bill [HL Bill 2] 2013-14*, to extend the statutory rehabilitation period in the community to a minimum of 12 months for all those sentenced to 2 years or less in custody.³ This is discussed later.
- **Introducing a network of 70 local “resettlement prisons”** in the new geographical contract areas across England and Wales.
- **Inviting providers from the voluntary and private sectors** – organisations from the voluntary, private and community sectors, including mutuals, will be invited to bid for contracts to provide rehabilitation services. Providers will be commissioned nationally and directly by the Ministry of Justice. For more information see Standard Note 6894 *Privatisation of the probation services: what’s happened so far?*
- **Introducing PbR** – a proportion of a service provider’s payment will be determined by the reductions in reoffending they achieve.
- **Creating a new National Probation Service** – a new public sector probation service, with direct responsibility for high risk offenders only, would replace the current system of individual trusts.

The Probation Association and the **Probation Chiefs Association**, together representing the leadership of Probation Trusts in England and Wales, issued a joint response to the Government consultation, identifying a number of issues which (they considered) needed to be resolved:

- splitting offender management, which they argued would lead to fragmentation in offender supervision
- national commissioning, which they argued ran counter to the thrust of devolution
- the PbR approach, which was not sufficiently tested

¹ Further detail and background to the consultation is provided by Library Standard Note, SN/HA/6575, *Reform of probation services* (11 March 2013). Wider issues relating to rehabilitation are discussed in Library Research Paper 12/71, *Reducing reoffending: the “what works” debate* (22 November 2012).

² Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p3

³ The House of Lords Library has published a *Note on the Bill* (LLN 2013/009, 16 May 2013). The *Offender Rehabilitation Bill [HL Bill 2] 2013-14* had its second reading on 20 May 2013 and entered committee stage on 5 June 2013.

- infrastructure issues in such matters as IT, data and information sharing, performance metrics and the implications of market failure and
- the pace of reform, which they argued was unfeasible.⁴

In a further response document, they expressed concerns relating to the timescale, the proposed commissioning system and the fragmentation of offender rehabilitation across the public and private sector:

- The proposals to fragment offender supervision across different organisations and sectors - with low and medium risk outsourced to other providers and high risk retained by Public Sector Probation - will increase the complexity of information exchange and fracture the continuity of offender supervision, adding substantially to the risk of public protection failures
- The government proposals rely on national contracts which do not fit with local approaches to reducing crime and will damage relationships and the effective joint delivery of services with the police and other local partners
- The scale and pace of reforms - over the next 18 months a new national probation service will need creating together with a complex market competition across 21 regions with large elements of new services, all to be in place by Autumn 2014. We have serious concerns that this timescale is unrealistic and will compromise public safety.⁵

2 Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014

Library Research Paper 13/61, [Offender Rehabilitation Bill](#), 6 November 2013, and Library research paper 13/72, [Offender Rehabilitation Bill Committee Stage Report](#), 16 December 2013 give background to the policy debate around this Bill.

During the passage of the *Offender Rehabilitation Bill [HL] 2013-14*, the Government relied heavily on the argument that the *Offender Management Act 2007* provided sufficient basis for the reforms to the probation service it intends and further primary legislation was not needed. The Bill started in the Lords and the then Minister, Lord McNally, argued:

Under the 2007 Act, the Secretary of State may contract, with a probation trust, providers from the private or voluntary sector, or he may provide probation services directly. The Secretary of State intends to use the powers conferred by that Act, together with his common law powers, to create and sell companies, and to transfer the delivery of a large proportion of the probation service to the private sector via contractual arrangements involving the formation and sale of a number of new community rehabilitation companies.⁶

However, the Bill was amended in at Lords Report stage in June 2013 so as to require that any change to the structure of the probation service should be approved by resolution of both Houses. This new Clause 1 was, tabled by Lord Ramsbotham (a former HM Chief Inspector of Prisons) and Lord Beecham (Opposition Spokesperson for Justice to provide that:

⁴ [Transforming Rehabilitation: A Joint Response from the Probation Chiefs Association and the Probation Association](#) February 2013

⁵ [Joint PA/PCA comment on the Government's response to its Transforming Rehabilitation consultation](#), 9 May 2013

⁶ [HL Deb 25 June 2013 c665](#)

No alteration or reform may be made to the structure of the probation service unless the proposals have been laid before, and approved by resolution of, both Houses of Parliament.

The Bill's [Explanatory Notes](#) offered a brief commentary: The amendment was agreed on division by 215 votes to 186.⁷ However, the clause was removed at the ping pong stage on 11 March 2014, by 263 votes to 243.⁸ Royal Assent followed.

3 The strategy's proposals in more detail

3.1 Extending rehabilitation to offenders released from short sentences

Concerns about the reoffending rates of short sentence prisoners and whether they are falling though the net of supervision in the community are discussed in more detail in the Library Research Paper 12/71, [Reducing reoffending: the "what works" debate](#) (22 November 2012).

The proposals involved two main legislative changes. First, introducing statutory supervision for offenders released from less than 12 months in custody,⁹ who are currently released unconditionally and who figures show are the most likely to reoffend.¹⁰ Second, extending the supervision period for those released from custodial sentences of less than two years to at least 12 months.¹¹ The 12 months minimum supervision period would also apply to offenders who are under the age of 18 when sentenced but reach the age of 18 before their release from custody.¹²

All offenders released from custodial sentences of less than two years would be subject to an initial licence period and a new additional supervision period for rehabilitation, which together would last for at least 12 months.¹³ The strategy document provides an example:

⁷ [HL Deb 25 June 2013 c665](#)

⁸ [HL Deb 11 March 2014 c1697](#)

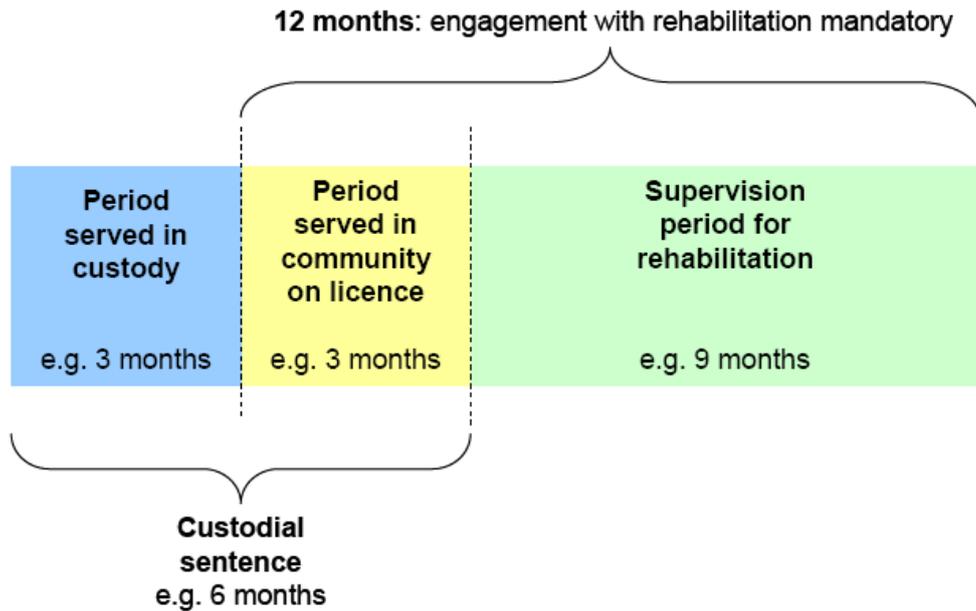
⁹ An estimated 50,000 offenders (Ministry of Justice, [Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform](#), Cm 8619, May 2013, p6)

¹⁰ According to Ministry of Justice data, 58% of offenders sentenced to less than a year in custody reoffend again within a year. This compares with 35% for offenders released from more than a year in custody (*Ibid*, p41)

¹¹ Custodial sentences of two years or more already include licence periods in the community of at least 12 months. (*Ibid*, p12)

¹² Ministry of Justice, [Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform](#), Cm 8619, May 2013, p12

¹³ License periods are the remainder of the custodial sentence served in the community



Source: Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p13

Conditions specified by the public sector probation service would be attached to both the licence period and supervision period. The conditions that could be attached are set out in Part 1 of Schedule 1 to the *Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014*. They range from participation in rehabilitation activities to compulsory drug appointments and testing for Classes A and B drugs.

Breach of conditions attached to either the licence period or the supervision period could lead to a return to custody. The sanctions that would apply for breach of a supervision period condition are set out in section 3 of the *Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014*.

According to the Ministry of Justice, the changes meant that “all offenders who enter prison, even for just a few days, will be subject to the new supervision and will be given vital support into housing, employment, training and substance abuse programmes”.¹⁴

Changes have also been made to the requirements that may be imposed as part of a Community Order or Suspended Sentence Order, with the existing “activity” and “supervision” requirements replaced by a single “rehabilitation activity requirement”.¹⁵ Offenders would be required to attend appointments or participate in activities, or both. Activities could include accredited programmes or restorative justice. The Ministry of Justice has said the changes would provide greater flexibility in the delivery of rehabilitation.¹⁶ These changes are set out in section 15 of the *Offender Rehabilitation Act 2014*. These sections have not yet been brought into force.

3.2 A network of “resettlement prisons”

The Ministry of Justice described its intended network of around 70 “resettlement prisons” across England and Wales as “the biggest reorganisation of the prison estate in more than 20 years”.¹⁷ It said that “rehabilitating offenders in the community must start behind the

¹⁴ Ministry of Justice press release, *12 months supervision for all prisoners on release*, 9 May 2013

¹⁵ Clause 13 *Offender Rehabilitation Bill [HL Bill 2] 2013-14*

¹⁶ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p14

¹⁷ Ministry of Justice press release, *12 months supervision for all prisoners on release*, 9 May 2013

prison walls - frontline staff need to lay the groundwork and build a relationship with their offender in prison.”¹⁸

According to the Ministry of Justice, continuous support from the same provider “through the prison gates” would help reduce reoffending.¹⁹ A number of resettlement prisons would therefore be designated in each of the new geographical contract package areas.²⁰ Offenders would be located in a resettlement prison near their home area for at least three months before their release. The same provider who would be responsible for the offender’s rehabilitation in the community would be able to begin resettlement support (such as mentoring and help finding accommodation) while they were still in custody. Chris Grayling said, “we are, for the first time, creating real continuity between custody and community, bridging the gap which right now just leads many offenders back to a life of crime.”²¹

The strategy document provides a diagram of an offender’s passage from custody to community, including the role of resettlement prisons.²²

The Ministry of Justice published a list of resettlement prisons in February 2014:

The revised list of resettlement prisons, published on 7 February 2014, comprises resettlement establishments for the adult male, women’s and young adult estates.

The resettlement prisons will be aligned with our new 21 contract package areas (CPAs) across the country, as laid out in our Transforming Rehabilitation reforms.²³

The list is available [here](#).²⁴

3.3 Involving providers from the voluntary and private sectors

Another plank of the Ministry of Justice’s reforms is its plan to invite providers from the voluntary and private sectors to bid for contracts to provide offender rehabilitation services.²⁵ Contracts would be commissioned nationally by the Ministry of Justice in 21 contract areas across England and Wales.

The Ministry of Justice took steps to encourage the involvement of smaller and local organisations, which in its view were often best placed to provide services which reflect local needs.²⁶ This includes making £10 million available to encourage the formation of mutuals, including those put together by current Probation Trust staff. Coupled with this, the Ministry of Justice wants to encourage lead providers to work in partnership with local organisations and will require lead providers to provide evidence during the bid stage of how they will build local partnerships.²⁷ The powers enabling the Secretary of State to contract with voluntary

¹⁸ Ministry of Justice press release, *12 months supervision for all prisoners on release*, 9 May 2013

¹⁹ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p4

²⁰ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p11. Contract areas are discussed in the next section

²¹ [HC Deb 9 May 2013 c149](#)

²² Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p37

²³ Ministry of Justice *Resettlement Prisons* February 2014

²⁴ <https://www.justice.gov.uk/downloads/rehab-prog/resettlement-prison-list.pdf>

²⁵ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p6

²⁶ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p17

²⁷ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p18

and private sector providers were brought in by the *Offender Management Act 2007*.²⁸ of new market providers.²⁹

The original timetable stated that bidding for probation contracts would start in summer 2013. The latest announcement from the MoJ (in February 2014) stated that they were in formal negotiations with around 30 bidders. The current timetable is for contracts to be awarded by the end of 2014 and for services to go live in 2015. Further information is available in Standard Note 6894 *Privatisation of the Probation Service: what's happened so far?* [published 21 May 2014]. The 35 probation trusts ceased to operate on 31 May 2014 and have been replaced by the National Probation Service and 21 Community Rehabilitation Companies (see below).³⁰ There have been suggestions that the reforms are untested and ambitious, and that offenders may fall between the central and local service providers.³¹ The Public Accounts Committee expressed concern in May 2014 that administrative costs and bureaucracy might increase due to the split.³²

3.4 Payment by Results (PbR)

PbR is central to the Ministry of Justice's planned reforms. The Ministry of Justice is introducing a system whereby a proportion of a provider's payment will be determined by the reductions in reoffending they achieve. Chris Grayling has described PbR as a "cornerstone" of the rehabilitation reforms.³³ The Ministry of Justice has said it will create an incentive for providers to "focus relentlessly on driving down reoffending".³⁴

Payments would primarily be made for an individual offender's complete desistance from crime for a 12 month period, but providers would also be allocated groups of offenders, and further payments would be determined by the total number of re-offences committed by a group. Providers would only be paid in full if they achieved an agreed reduction in the number of offenders who reoffend and a reduction in the number of offences committed by the group as a whole. The Ministry of Justice has argued that this would prevent providers "gaming" the system by creating an incentive for providers to continue to focus on reducing the reoffending of even the hardest to help and those who have already reoffended.³⁵

The Ministry of Justice has also said it will consider the possibility of making interim success payments to help maintain cash-flow for providers.³⁶

The May 2013 strategy document states that the new payment structure would combine "fee for service elements, where we need to see services in place for all offenders to make the

²⁸ For further information see Library Research Paper 06/02, *The Offender Management Bill 2006-07*, 6 December 2006, and Library Research Paper 07/20, *The Offender Management Bill Committee Stage Report*, 26 February 2007

²⁹ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p32

³⁰ See map at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/315721/CRC-area-map.pdf

³¹ "Bids for £800m privatisation of probation service due on Monday" 29 June 2014 *Financial Times*; "Probation reform train cash poses risk to public safety" 6 July 2014 *Independent*

³² Public Accounts Committee *Probation: landscape review* HC 1114 2013-14

³³ *HC Deb 9 May 2013 c150*

³⁴ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p14

³⁵ Library Standard Note SN/HA/6621, *Delivering public services: The growing use of Payment by Results* (29 April 2013) discusses PbR and the issue of 'parking and creaming' (that is, providers concentrating on the most tractable cases) in more detail.

³⁶ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p15

system work in practice, with PbR elements linked to success".³⁷ It is not yet clear, though, what proportion of a provider's fee would be subject to PbR. According to Chris Grayling, it would be a matter for the bidding process, depending on how much that provider could risk financially, but it would not be 100%.³⁸

On 3 June 2013, the Ministry of Justice published its "straw man" PbR mechanism for the new rehabilitation contracts. In summary, the mechanism includes an annual *Fee for Service*, a PbR element, and financial penalties for underperformance.³⁹ At this point the timetable was that the design of the system would be completed by summer 2013 and be in operation by autumn 2014.

85. We consider it important for the overall success of the reshaping of the rehabilitation landscape that the final payment by results mechanism, as determined during the contracting process, should be capable of further refinement and modification in the light of experience. The mechanism, and the metrics which it involves, must in addition remain open to parliamentary and public scrutiny, which must not be deflected by the fact that it is private sector providers who are delivering this essentially public service. The Ministry should explain in its response to this report how it will ensure reliable public accountability of the performance of providers of rehabilitative services under the new model.⁴⁰

The Ministry of Justice piloted PbR projects at two prisons. It published data for the PbR pilots in Peterborough and Doncaster on 13 June 2013⁴¹ and the phase 2 report on 24 April 2014. The phase 2 report for the Peterborough project explained the background:

Background to the Peterborough payment by results pilot

In 2010 the world's first Social Impact Bond (SIB) was launched at Peterborough Prison, sponsored by the Ministry of Justice and the Big Lottery Fund. A SIB is a form of payment by results, where funding is raised from private, non-government investors and used to pay for interventions to improve social outcomes. If these interventions are effective, this could result in savings to Government and wider benefits to society. As part of a SIB the Government agrees to pay a proportion of these savings back to the investors as a return on their investment. If the outcomes do not improve, investors lose their investment.

The Peterborough payment by results pilot uses a SIB to fund interventions to reduce reoffending among male offenders released from HMP Peterborough having served short prison sentences (less than 12 months). The pilot is coordinated by Social Finance, a not-for-profit financial intermediary, who obtained investment funding from private individuals, trusts and foundations to finance the pilot.⁴²

A more-wide ranging series of pilots were cancelled in 2012. Background is in Library Standard Note 6665. [Introducing "Payment by Results" in Offender Rehabilitation and other reforms.](#)

³⁷ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p14

³⁸ HC Deb 9 May 2013 cc156-160

³⁹ Ministry of Justice, *Payment mechanism – Straw Man*, June 2013

⁴⁰ <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201314/cmselect/cmjust/1004/100406.htm#a27>

⁴¹ Ministry of Justice press release, *Mentoring Scheme reduces reoffending*, 13 June 2013

⁴² Ministry of Justice *Phase 2 report from the payment by results Social Impact Bond pilot at HMP Peterborough* 24 April 2014

4 Creating a new National Probation Service

The Ministry of Justice has created a new public sector National Probation Service, moving away from the current system of local Probation Trusts.

The new National Probation Service is responsible for carrying out the initial risk assessment of every offender, allocating those of low or medium risk to a lead provider, and directly managing offenders held to be of high risk of serious harm to the public.⁴³ It is a statutory criminal justice service. The Ministry of Justice estimated that the National Probation Service would directly manage around 31,000 offenders (as discussed earlier, new providers would be responsible for around 236,000).⁴⁴ New providers would have, however, a contractual obligation to refer cases back to the National Probation Service for review where there had been a significant change in circumstances that might affect the assessment of risk of serious harm.⁴⁵

The new service came into existence on 1 June 2014. Its main functions are:

- preparing pre-sentence reports for courts, to help them select the most appropriate sentence
- managing approved premises for offenders with a residence requirement on their sentence
- assessing offenders in prison to prepare them for release on licence to the community, when they will come under our supervision
- helping all offenders serving sentences in the community to meet the requirements ordered by the courts
- communicating with and prioritising the wellbeing of victims of serious sexual and violent offences, when the offender has received a prison sentence of 12 months or more, or is detained as a mental health patient⁴⁶

On 30 June 2014 21 new Community Rehabilitation Companies (CRCs) were created. They are fully owned by the Secretary of State for Justice on behalf of the Ministry of Justice (MoJ). A tender process is currently under way with a successful bidder(s) to take ownership of the CRCs starting from winter 2014–15. As part of the sale, the contracts will mandate the operations of the CRCs ensuring continuity of services beyond this date. Services will continue to be commissioned by MoJ/NOMS under this arrangement.⁴⁷

A Service Level Agreement (SLA) for each regional area is now available from the gov.uk website. These are services for probation services commissioned by the National Offender Management Service from the National Probation Service in 2014-15. These agreements acknowledge that 2014-15 is a transitional period. The SLA is between the National Offender Management Service as Commissioning Authority and the National Probation Service. SLA for the North West region discusses governance responsibilities:

⁴³ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p20

⁴⁴ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p46

⁴⁵ Ministry of Justice, *Transforming Rehabilitation: A Strategy for Reform*, Cm 8619, May 2013, p21

⁴⁶ [National Probation Service: About Us](#)

⁴⁷ https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/327910/HC83-South-Yorkshire-AR_A-2013-14_web_.pdf

7.1.3 The NOMS CEO will oversee the entire delivery structure. The Director of Probation and the Director of NOMS in Wales will report to the NOMS CEO and will be responsible for the delivery of the SLA in each of the six Divisions in England and the one division in Wales.

7.1.4 The Commissioning Authority will identify the expectations of the NPS through a Commissioning Intentions process, hold the NPS to account via its responses to these Commissioning Intentions, and will measure and assess performance against a set of Service Delivery Requirements (SDRs). Performance measures are set out in section 6 and in Table 11.6. NOMS guidance material (“Technical Notes”) on Performance Measures (available on the Hub) describes the performance assessment criteria, data source, baseline data etc used in the performance assessment. The Commissioning Authority will review Performance measures annually and re-issue new delivery requirements prior to the commencement of each year of the SLA. Requirements may also be subject to change/negotiation throughout the SLA period.

7.1.5 The NPS Division will maintain a business risk management framework which operates in accordance with the NOMS Business Risk Management Framework.

In its Annual Business Plan, as required by section 8(2) OMA 2007, the NPS will make reference to how it will deliver its service requirements, including elements not captured in this SLA, for example activity requirements ⁴⁸

5 Select Committee reports: Risks of implementation

The Justice Select Committee interim report on crime reduction policies of January 2014 stated:

24. Some of our witnesses were supportive of the underlying principles of the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation reform programme, in particular, the extension of pre and post-release support to short-sentenced prisoners, the introduction of an element of payment for outcomes sought, and opening up the provision of probation services to a greater diversity of providers. Nevertheless witnesses, including some supportive of the proposed changes, had significant apprehensions about the scale, architecture, detail and consequences of the reforms and the pace at which the Government is seeking to implement them.

The Committee requested without success a copy of the Ministry's internal risk register on the Transforming Rehabilitation programme.

34. On the limited information which the Government has provided, it is not clear to us whether sufficient funding is in place to meet the costs of transition to the new system and of statutory rehabilitation for those sentenced to less than 12 months in custody. For the Transforming Rehabilitation programme to meet its objectives, substantial improvement will be needed in relation to two other elements that are not currently working well: rehabilitative provision in custody, including through the gate supervision for all prisoners coming to the end of their sentence; and provision of requirements that can be attached to community orders, including mental health, drug, and alcohol treatment. The costs of making the structural reforms and efficiencies necessary to support the programme are also likely to be considerable. A key question for the affordability of these reforms is how new providers will fund all this now that NOMS

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https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/315932/NPS_SLA_Final_North_West.pdf

plans to dedicate to them only the community based element of existing rehabilitation resources.⁴⁹

The Public Accounts Committee issued a report *Probation: landscape review* in May 2014, which expressed concerns over increased administrative costs and bureaucracy.

⁴⁹ Justice Select Committee *Crime reduction policies: a co-ordinated approach ? Interim report on the Government's Transforming Rehabilitation programme* January 2014